

Giuseppe Donizetti at the Ottoman Court: A Levantine Life

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A Levantine life

EMRE ARACI surveys the contribution of the famous composer's elder brother to the cultural life of Turkey

‘**H**E LOVES Constantinople, to which he owes everything; I love Italy because to that country, after my debt to Mayr,¹ I owe my existence and my reputation’, wrote Gaetano Donizetti in a letter to his close friend Antonio Dolci in the autumn of 1838.² He was, of course, referring to his elder brother, Giuseppe, who had become, in 1828, Instructor General of the Imperial Ottoman Music at the court of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39).³ After his native Italy, Constantinople had indeed become a second home for the elder Donizetti, for he lived there for the rest of his life, some twenty-eight years, until his death in 1856. Today he is buried in the vaults of the historic St Esprit Cathedral, near the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul, on the European side of the city, in what was once the epicentre of a thriving Christian community, better known as Pera. Yet many contemporary visitors to Istanbul, including enthusiasts of Italian opera, would pass that very spot completely oblivious of this fact. Giuseppe Donizetti Pasha, as he was called in the Levant, played a significant role in the introduction of European music to the Ottoman military. His achievements, however, were by no means limited to military circles. Apart from overseeing the training of the European-style military bands of Mahmud’s modern army, he taught music at the palace to the members of the Ottoman royal family, the princes and the ladies of the harem, composed the first national anthem of the Ottoman Empire, supported the annual Italian opera season in Pera, organised concerts and operatic performances at court, and played host to a number of eminent virtuosi who visited Constantinople at the time, such as Franz Liszt, Parish Alvars and Leopold de Meyer.

Yet the life and career of the Turkish brother – *fratello Turco* Gaetano called him – has always been overshadowed – quite understandably – by the international fame and stature of his obviously more talented junior. Unfavourable comparisons as a result were not, it seems, uncommon. Gaetano himself, for a start, did not hesitate to dismiss his brother’s achievements, once remarking: ‘I do not want to play the fool like my brother, the Bey, who, after having earned more than I perhaps, stays there in ancient Byzantium



Portrait of Giuseppe Donizetti Pasha (from Guido Zavadini: *Gaetano Donizetti: vita, musiche, epistolario* (Bergamo, 1948))

to scratch his belly between the plague and the stake.’⁴ Having noted the ‘variegated and interesting career’ of the ‘most important musician-functionary at the faraway court of Mahmud II’, Herbert Weinstock in his comprehensive biography on Gaetano concluded that of all the three Donizetti brothers ‘much more of a figure was to be cut in the world by the last but one’.⁵ Yet all of this should certainly not mount into a valid excuse to prevent us from looking further into

Giuseppe's achievements in the Levant. He was perhaps not a great composer like his brother, but was still an important pedagogue and bandmaster who went down in the history of Turkish music as the founder of European tradition.

It is rather ironic that being elder brother to a celebrity composer, at the same time, appears to have brought some advantages for Giuseppe, and far from eclipsing him into oblivion, secured for him a place in posterity. This is quite clear from the evidence in contemporary as well as modern sources. François Joseph Fétis, for example, in his celebrated *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, did not hesitate to include Giuseppe's name, while the editors of the revised second edition of the *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians* have decided to resurrect an earlier entry which had been dropped in previous editions.⁶ Since a number of other European musicians resident at the Ottoman court who were equally important to Giuseppe Donizetti, including Calisto Guattelli⁷, were excluded from these sources, and since the entries introduce him first and foremost as the 'elder brother of Gaetano', it is obvious that Giuseppe was included merely to complete the larger musical portrait of the Donizetti family. Similarly, most European travellers who went to Constantinople and saw him in charge of the military bands there wrote in their accounts of meeting the famous Donizetti's 'elder brother', while other foreign musicians were often left out. The fact that any source material on Giuseppe, his letters and diaries, have at all survived today is also due to their relevance to Gaetano Donizetti studies.

GIUSEPPE Ambrogio Donizetti⁸ was born in¹ Bergamo on 6 November 1788, as the first child of Domenica Nava and Andrea Donizetti, and spent his childhood in a cramped, decrepit basement flat of two dark rooms in a tenement house outside the old city walls near the Borgo Canal, in rather financially restrained conditions, as once vividly described by Gaetano.⁹ Evidence shows that as well as his musicianship, Giuseppe was also trained as a tailor from a young age, for his matriculation documents, when he joined the Seventh Line Regiment of the Italian Army in 1806, record his profession as 'Musicante e Sarto' (musician and tailor).¹⁰ His musical skills were at first cultivated by his uncle Giacomo Corini and later shaped by Johann Simon Mayr, who was the *maestro di capella* at the Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore. Giuseppe was too old to attend classes at Mayr's Lezioni Caritatevoli di Musica, the free music school of the town, so these lessons had to be arranged on an individual basis. Like his younger brother, Giuseppe must have also seen

Mayr as an important teacher, for their correspondence continued even after the former's departure for Constantinople. Twenty four years later, Mayr was one of the first recipients of the manuscript score of Giuseppe's military march *Mahmudiye*, for approval, which was specially composed for Mahmud II in 1829.¹¹

During his time in the Italian army, apart from the Seventh regiment of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, Giuseppe served with Napoleon's forces on the Isle of Elba as flautist and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 joined the army of the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont. He later became bandmaster in the Reggimento Provinciale di Casale and finally joined the Primo Reggimento della Brigata Casale. Financial difficulties experienced by the Donizetti family – since Andrea Donizetti was caretaker at the local pawnbroker's and earned very little money – was undoubtedly the key factor in Giuseppe's decision to follow a military career and the principal reason for accepting the lucrative offer which came from the Ottoman court.¹² He was to be paid 8000 francs for the job, a significant amount even in the 1820's and much higher than Gaetano's income at the time. However, despite the financial reward, father Andrea and Gaetano seem to have been both greatly opposed to the idea at first. 'I have heard and with great astonishment of my brother Giuseppe's resolution' wrote Gaetano in a letter to Andrea and continued:

I tell you sincerely, because I am unprejudiced, that one can love and adore God even in the deserts, and for a good Christian there is no need for churches to be the determining factor; one loves God in one's heart and the presence or absence of sanctuaries makes no difference. His decision seems to me altogether bad at times in which we find ourselves. I will never applaud such a decision, and it must be that the 8000 francs have blinded him, but you should make him consider that if he finds things don't go well there, he will find it more difficult to find employment in Italy [...] I highly disapprove of such a resolution, not for the journey, not because he would lose a regiment that he loves so much, but for the dangerous times in which we find ourselves. Tell him that in this world it is necessary to be discreet in one's desires, and one lives happily. I don't want to become a millionaire, for the little I earn satisfies me, and I live without debts and am very happy. Perhaps he desires too much and will find himself sorry...¹³

Gaetano's letter further highlights the complex problems posed to Andrea Donizetti, especially in trying to come to terms with the prospect of his son living in a country ruled by Islamic law and more significantly his becoming a servant to the

Khalif of the entire Muslims. Yet in reality the situation for Giuseppe could not have been more different, for he was not only to find himself among a vibrant Christian community, but there were plenty of Christian shrines for him to attend in Pera. Besides, a large number of Christian officers were being recruited for the Ottoman military service from various European academies of war and therefore the likelihood of he and his wife Angela feeling isolated in an alien environment was nil. They also found great patronage at court and among high-ranking officers. A sign of their comfortable and well-established status is also apparent from the fact that in later years Giuseppe even tried to encourage Gaetano to move to Constantinople, which the latter flatly refused.¹⁴ The Donizettis were so well-liked in the Ottoman capital that when fire broke out near their house Ahmet Fethi Pasha, the sultan's brother-in-law, ordered all the houses surrounding the maestro's home to be razed to the ground in order to prevent the flames reaching the building.¹⁵

CONSTANTINOPLE in the 1820s was an Eastern city, rapidly developing on Western lines through the determined leadership of Mahmud II, which appropriately won him the title of 'Peter the Great of the Ottoman Empire'.¹⁶ Modern buildings in European architecture were beginning to dominate the skyline of the city, while new military schools of medicine, science and music were being established. For the first time, in 1827, a batch of Turkish students were sent to Paris for education.¹⁷ The first Ottoman official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, began circulation in 1831, and a new postal system was inaugurated in 1834. Mahmud's keen regeneration programme also covered the forms of official dress and, as a result, new headgear, the crimson *fes*, was adopted for all civil servants and military personnel, as well as new tight frock coats and trousers, as opposed to the turban and baggy *shalvar*. But, most importantly, in the bloody uprising of 1826, known as the Vaka-i Hayriye (the Auspicious Incident), Mahmud succeeded in extinguishing the corrupt corps of the once élite janissaries, which had for some time become the major obstacle in the reform movement, and founded a completely modern army, which also incorporated European style military bands.

It did not take long for the European musical press of the time to report this new and unusual tradition which was beginning to emerge in the East. Eight years after the arrival of Giuseppe in Constantinople, the French music journal *Le Ménestrel* published the following letter which the editorial board had received from a loyal subscriber in the Ottoman Empire:



Giuseppe's patron, Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) (Max Fruchtermann postcard no.274 – Emre Aracı Archive)

In Constantinople the ancient Turkish music has died in agony. Sultan Mahmoud loves Italian music and has introduced it in his armies. This is only one of his reforms; the brother of Donizetti is the director of his music, and since they do not have much music, they always play one particular work, called the *March of the Sultan*, which is said to have been composed by him. He particularly loves the piano, so much so, that he ordered many instruments from Vienna for his ladies. I do not know how they are going to learn to play, since no one so far has succeeded in going anywhere near them.¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, it is also possible to find the occasional reference to the European military bands of the sultan and the senior Donizetti in the contemporary travel literature of the period. Almost all of these known references, however, are by non-musicians and therefore from a critical perspective they all fail miserably, for their concluding remarks on the musical ability of the Turks could not have been more conflicting. Two examples should suffice to illustrate the scale of the problem.



Sultan Abdulaziz going to Friday prayer at the mosque of Dolmabahçe to the strains of a military band (*The Graphic* (27 May 1876) – Emre Aracı Archive)

The first observation quoted here is by the British naval officer Sir Adolphus Slade who visited Constantinople in the late 1820s. Slade witnessed a rehearsal of the sultan's new band by the quayside:

Presently, the songs of a party of Greek boatmen, which had enlivened our dessert, gave way to the strains of a military band, and, unexpected treat to me on the banks of the Bosphorus, we heard Rossini's music, executed in a manner very creditable to Professor Signor Donizetti. We rose and went down to the palace quay, on which the band was playing. I was surprised at the youth of the performers and the familiarity with which they addressed Calosso, calling him Rustam; and still more surprised on finding that they were the royal pages, thus instructed for the Sultan's amusement. Their aptitude in learning, which Donizetti informed me would have been remarkable even in Italy, showed that the Turks are naturally musical.¹⁹

Charles MacFarlane who was in the city more or less at the same time as Slade also heard the band. He, however, paints a completely different picture:

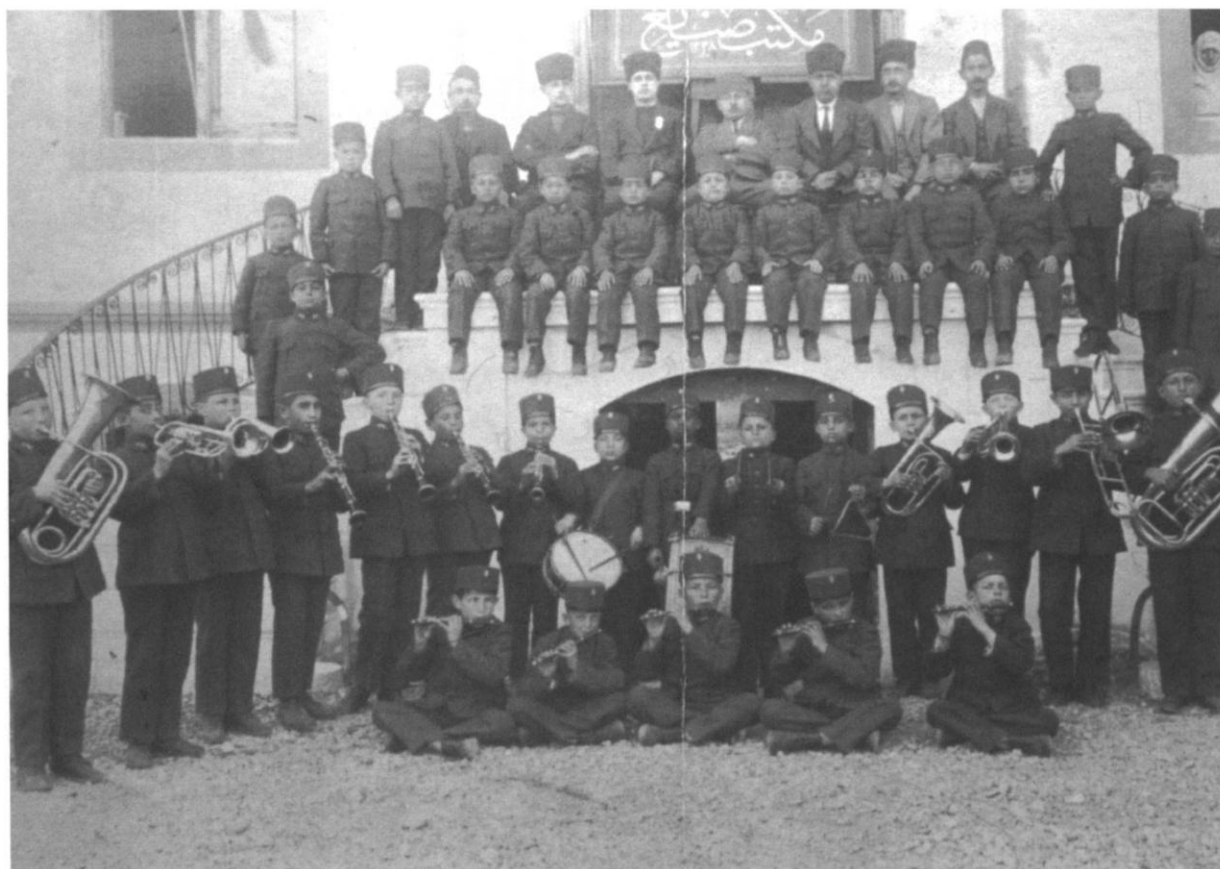
We shot along the beautiful port, and soon landed below Pera, at the Melt-iskellesi scale,

between the arsenal and Galata. Not far from the waterside we passed an open square, where some tactics were drilling, and a large barrack, where the band of the regiment was practising a march from Rossini, under the direction of an old purblind Italian.²⁰

[...]

An old Italian charged with the instruction of one of the bands, told me however, that the Turks themselves had not much aptitude for learning it, and that most of the musicians were Armenian rayas. The sultan afterwards placed a few of the younger ichoglans or pages, under the maestro's instructions, and these were making some progress when I left Stamboul, as they were docile and could be kept to work like mere schoolboys as they were. The love for music will do much; for with the Turks, the great difficulty is, to awaken an interest in their minds for any art or science.²¹

The only conclusive evidence we can safely deduct from these observations is that regimental bands had indeed started to take shape in a short time under the direction of Giuseppe with young Ottoman students from the palace school and that their repertoire comprised instrumental numbers from popular Italian operas of the time. These were clearly not restricted to Rossini's works



A typical student band at an Ottoman school c.1900 (Emre Aracı Archive)

either: when Felice Romani visited Constantinople in 1832 he was astonished to discover 'Italy' on the banks of the Bosphorus through the strains of music coming from the palace quay. He had heard the chorus from Bellini's opera *Straniera* and one of Gaetano Donizetti's songs, 'Il barcaiuolo', from *Nuits d'été à Pausilippe*, with the opening lines 'Voga, voga, il vento tace'.²² Although Italian music seems to have dominated the repertoire in Constantinople, other unusual choices were also included. 'It was agreeably striking to stand alone in the midst of these Turks, and to listen to well-known strains, that recalled Italy, and many pleasant scenes and dear friends', MacFarlane wrote in his diary and continued: 'but this was nothing to the delightfully melancholy sensations I experienced one morning, when the band of the guards struck up an old English air I had not heard for many years'.²³

Perhaps the most important and original piece of music the regimental bands in the Ottoman Empire were taught to play was Giuseppe's military march for Mahmud II, referred to earlier. *Mahmudiye* represented the sovereign's authority and was performed at royal events including the weekly Friday prayer procession to the mosque, the *selamlık*. This was unprecedented, since never before in Ottoman history had a sultan a personal march composed for him by a European musician

which not only received official approval but was also accepted and, to a certain extent, treated as national anthem. It was to a certain extent, because, unlike a permanent national anthem, the official march of the Ottoman Empire changed on the accession of a new sultan. When Abdulmecid (1839–61) succeeded to his father's throne in 1839, Giuseppe Donizetti composed a new march, which came to be known as *Mecidiye*.²⁴ Dedicating military marches to Ottoman rulers at this time seems to have become a vogue among European composers, which included some eminent names as well as lesser-known figures. Gaetano Donizetti²⁵ and Rossini,²⁶ for example, were among a number of composers who dedicated military marches to Abdulmecid, and when Franz Liszt performed before him in the summer of 1847, during his Oriental trip, he used themes from Giuseppe's *Mecidiye* in a grand paraphrase²⁷ for the piano which was specially composed to please the Ottoman ruler.

PRIVATE performances of Italian opera were also very popular at the court of Abdulmecid. As a matter of fact, Constantinople had boasted a number of theatres since the early 1830's. The most important theatre, however, was owned by two Christian brothers from Syria called Naum, who had even

secured an exclusive licence from the sultan to engage artists from Italy.²⁸ Naum Theatre seems to have sustained a high standard of performance for a long time, where the latest operas of Donizetti and Verdi were performed by some highly distinguished artists. In 1848, for example, when the theatre re-opened after a devastating fire, it was with Verdi's *Macbeth*.²⁹ Records for the same year show that apart from *Macbeth*, the Naum company put on productions of *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Linda di Chamounix*, *Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Attila* and *Ernani*.³⁰ Abdulmecid was quite a passionate admirer of Italian opera and from time to time he also attended a number of performances at Naum's theatre, where he had a royal box. At other times, the company would be invited to the palace to perform for His Majesty's pleasure, when Giuseppe Donizetti would often be on duty by his side, ready to give explanations about the work, as highlighted in a report which was published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*:

All the artists of the Italian troupe of Pera gave a performance at the Palace of Defterdar Burnu before the sultan and the ladies of the imperial harem. A theatre was constructed in the inner court of the harem, leaning against the windows of the apartments of the ladies, so that they can see the scene. Near the wall, an elevated platform was occupied by the sultan, who, dressed in a simple frock-coat, with opera-glasses in his hand, was accordingly following the scenes with marked interest. [...] The brilliant evening's repertoire comprised a hymn³¹ composed by M. Donizetti in honour of the sultan, the chief of music of His Excellency and was sung by all the subjects and the choir; the programme also included the prologue of *Lucrezia Borgia*; the bass aria from the same opera; the introduction of *Garamento*; the scene from *Fous de Columella*; the cavatina of the bouffe in *Mathilde de Sabran*; the finale of the same opera; the cemetery duo from *Garamento*; the tenor aria from *Roberto Devereux* and the finale of the *Parsina*. [...] M. Donizetti, the brother of the celebrated composer, chief of the Imperial Music, was observed standing close to the sultan and explaining to him the different scenes being performed.³²

HAVING just been created a commander of the Order of Mecidiye and thus receiving one of the highest honours of the Ottoman Empire, after years of distinguished service, Giuseppe Donizetti died on 17 February 1856, aged sixty-seven.³³ But his death was certainly not the end for the Donizettis in Constantinople. A further two generations of his family after him remained in Turkey for some considerable time, including his widow Angela,³⁴

son Andrea³⁵, and Andrea's children, Giuseppe³⁶ and Gaetano³⁷, who were named after their paternal grandfather and great-uncle respectively. Giuseppe worked in the Ottoman civil service, as interpreter at the Düyün-u Umuniye, the state department responsible for monitoring the Ottoman foreign debts, and Gaetano eventually moved to Paris where he joined the Directorate of the Paris Opera Archives. In 1921, following the end of the World War I, Giuseppe, as the last member of the family, finally left Istanbul indefinitely for Naples, where he died in 1949, thus bringing the family's presence in Turkey to an end. Today, what remains of the family's archive from their Ottoman sojourn is preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul, the contents of which were discovered by chance in the 1970s, when an unclaimed bank safe was opened after fifty years under the Turkish state law.

The small archive contains a selection of personal documents, letters and memorabilia belonging to Giuseppe and Gaetano, as well as Giuseppe Donizetti the grandson, who had assembled it. Some of these items, originally part of a much larger collection, were exhibited in Bergamo in 1897 during the International Donizetti Centenary Exhibition³⁸ and later brought back to Turkey. The remaining documents were given by Giuseppe the grandson to the archives of S. Pietro a Majella Conservatory in Naples. The collection at Topkapı is of primary importance to Donizetti studies, with two original autograph items clearly standing out among the rest: Giuseppe Donizetti's private journal *Giornale e memorie diverse di Giuseppe Donizetti* (1846–48) and a diary, in two volumes, on the medical conditions of Gaetano Donizetti kept between 23 June 1847 and 8 April 1848 and entitled *Bulletini medici sulla malattia del Cav. Maestro Donizetti*.³⁹ Giuseppe Donizetti's journal mainly records a number of letters concerning the failing state of Gaetano's health and his own desperate attempts to help him, as well as copies of invoices and payments for musical instruments ordered for the court in Constantinople. The diary also coincides with Franz Liszt's visit to Turkey and records a copy of a letter from Franz Liszt in Constantinople to his friend Adolphe Crémieux in Paris dated 12 July 1847, where Liszt asks Crémieux to help or find a suitable solicitor who might be able to secure the permission of the Paris police to allow Gaetano Donizetti to travel to Bergamo. Although small in size, the collection, which awaits deserved attention from international scholarship, is still an important testimony to the presence of the Donizettis in Constantinople for nearly a century.

Giuseppe Donizetti was not the only European musician engaged in Turkey for the purposes of

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musical reform, although what he did at the time was clearly rather pioneering. In the following century when the young Turkish republic under Atatürk's direction also pursued a music policy along Western lines it was again under the gui-

dance of Western experts. This time, however, it involved names such as Paul Hindemith, Béla Bartók, Eduard Zuckmayer, Licco Amar, Carl Ebert and Ernst Praetorius.⁴⁰ Today their legacies continue to live on at the state conservatories in Turkey.

1. Johann Simon Mayr (1763–1845).

2. Letter from Gaetano to Dolci (Paris, 13 November 1838), in William Ashbrook: *Donizetti* (London, 1965), p.225. For the original see: Guido Zavadini: *Donizetti: vita, musiche, epistolario* (Bergamo, 1948), letter no.316.

3. In search of a director for the Imperial Military Music School in Constantinople, the Ottoman Minister of War, Husrev Pasha, contacted a number of foreign delegations, including the embassy of the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia in Constantinople. The Foreign Ministry in Turin recommended Giuseppe Donizetti, and the Sardinian Ambassador, Marchese Gropallo, communicated this to the Ottoman authorities. According to a ministerial dispatch dated 7 November 1827, Giuseppe Donizetti was officially appointed 'Istruttore Generale delle Musiche Imperiali Ottomane'. He did not arrive in Constantinople until the autumn of 1828 (See: Giuseppe Donizetti [grandson], ed: *Ricordi di Gaetano Donizetti, Esposti Nella Mostra Centenaria Tenutasi in Bergamo, Nell'Agosto-Settembre 1897* (Bergamo, 1897), p.54).

4. Letter from Gaetano to Dolci (Paris, 13 November 1838), in Ashbrook, p.225; Zavadini, letter no.316.

5. Herbert Weinstock: *Donizetti and the world of opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century* (London, 1964), p.4.

6. See Francesco Belotto's article in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (second edition), vol.7, pp.497–98.

7. Calisto Guatelli was born in Parma on 26 September 1819. He entered the Ducal Music School in 1830 where he studied the double bass with Francesco Hiserich and singing with Antonio de Cesari. After graduating in 1848 he became choirmaster at the Teatro Carlo Felice and on the invitation of Giuseppe Donizetti moved to

NOTES

Constantinople. After Giuseppe's death he succeeded him in his post and continued to live in Constantinople until his death in 1900. He is a composer of a number of military marches and made arrangements of traditional Turkish songs. See Franz Pazdirek: *Universal-Handbuch der Musik-literatur aller Zeiten und Völker* (Vienna, 1904–10), p.274.

8. For biographical sources on Giuseppe Donizetti, see François Joseph Fétis: *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Paris, 1833–44); A. Bacolla: 'Giuseppe Donizetti e la musica in Turchia', in *Piemonte* (Torino, 1 June 1911) (also translated into French by Giuseppe Donizetti [grandson] as *La musique en Turquie et quelques traits biographiques, sur Giuseppe Donizetti Pacha* (Constantinople, 1911); Giuseppe Donizetti [grandson], ed: *Ricordi di Gaetano Donizetti*, pp.53–59; A. Baratta: *Costantinopoli nel 1831, ossia notizie esatte e recentissime intorno a questa capitale, ed agli usi e costumi de suoi abitani* (Genova, 1831), p.391; F. Romani: 'Donizetti in Costantinopoli (frammento di un viaggio inedito in Oriente)', in *Miscellanea del Cavaliere Felice Romani tratte della Gazzetta Piemontese*, i (ristampa dell'articolo della *Gazzetta Piemontese* del 12 novembre 1834, Torino, tipografia Favale, 1837), pp.9–12; EC Verzino: *Contributo ad una biografia di Gaetano Donizetti* (Bergamo, 1896); G. Locatelli: 'Giuseppe Donizetti Pascia', in *Bergamum* (Bergamo, 1912), pp.22–23; U. Riva: 'Un bergamasco (Giuseppe Donizetti Pascia) riformatore della musica in Turchia', in *Rivista di Bergamo*, i, (Bergamo, 1922), pp.349–53; F. Abbiati: 'La musicha in Turchia con Giuseppe Donizetti Pascia', in *Rivista di Bergamo*, vii (Bergamo, 1928), pp.305–12. For Turkish sources see: Bülent Aksoy: *Avrupalı Gezinlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki* (Istanbul, 1994); Tayyazade Ahmet Atâ: *Tarihi Atâ*, vol.3, 1292–93 [1875–76], pp.109–13; Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal [Kösemihal]: *Türk Askeri Muzikaları*

Tarihi, Maarif Basımevi, (Istanbul, 1955); 'Geçen Asır Ortasında Saray Muzikası', I–II, in *Ankara*, nos.6–7, (1 December 1945–1 January 1946); *Türkiye-Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri* (Istanbul, 1939); Refik Ahmet Sevengil: 'Donizetti Pasa: Giuseppe Donizetti'nin Osmanlı Sarayı'ndaki Çalışmaları', in *İstanbul Oper*, 2 (7), 2.66, pp.22–30; *Opera Sanatı ile İlk Temaslarımız*, MEB (Istanbul, 1959); *Saray Tiyatrosu*, MEB (Istanbul, 1962); Rauf Yekta (trans. Orhan Nasuhioğlu): *Türk Musikisi* (Istanbul, 1986).

9. In a letter to Mayr written on 15 July 1843, Gaetano recorded: 'I was born underground in Borgo Canale – you went down by a cellar stairs to which no suspicion of light ever penetrated' (Weinstock, p.5).

10. Verzino: *Contributo ad una biografia di Gaetano Donizetti*, p.14.

11. Entitled *Marcia favorita del gran Sultano Mahmud II*; the manuscript sent to Mayr is at the Fondazione Gaetano Donizetti, Bergamo.

12. Andrea Donizetti worked at the Monte di Pietà and was financially dependent on his children. In a letter dated 21 July 1826 Gaetano wrote to his father: 'You need money? Alas! Honours I could give you, but money [...] Suffice it that in every case I will try to help you as best as I can' (Ashbrook, p.93; Zavadini, letter no.28).

13. Ashbrook, p.92; Zavadini, letter no.37.

14. 'Because I don't want to go to Constantinople, Giuseppe writes me a very troublesome letter' wrote Gaetano to Antonio Vaselli on 20 February 1844 (Weinstock, p.216). Zavadini lists this letter as Vienna, 29 February 1844 according to the postmark; see Zavadini, letter no.547.

15. Letter from Gaetano to Dolci (Vienna, November 1844); Zavadini, letter no.600.

16. Bernard Lewis: *The emergence of*

17. It seems that among students educated in Paris some even received musical training, according to a report published in the *The Musical World* in London: 'The gods have made his Sublimity, Mahmoud, musical and in return he has determined to infuse his tastes into his harem. With this view he has recently given a concert to the fair ones, at which a young Turk, who had acquired his education at Paris, played among other pieces one of Beethoven's sonatas with variations, which enraptured the assembly and drew down thunders of applause' (*The Musical World* (6 June 1839), p.91).

18. *Le Ménestrel* (18 December 1836), p.1.

19. Sir Adolphus Slade: *Records of travels in Turkey, Greece etc, and of a cruise in the Black Sea with Capitan Pasha in the years 1829, 1830 and 1831* (London, 1833), p.135.

20. Charles MacFarlane: *Constantinople in 1828* (London, 1829), vol.1, p.517.

21. *Ibid*, p.173.

22. F. Romani: 'Donizetti in Costantinopoli (frammento di un viaggio inedito in Oriente)', in *Miscellanea del Cavaliere Felice Romani tratte della Gazzetta Piemontese*, i (ristampa dell'articolo della *Gazzetta Piemontese* del 12 novembre 1834, Torino, tipografia Favale, 1837), pp.9–12.

23. MacFarlane, vol.2, pp.170–71.

24. Hans Christian Andersen who visited Constantinople in 1841 heard the *Mecidiye March* during a Friday procession of Sultan Abdulmecid to the mosque: 'In general, pieces from Rossini's *William Tell* were played, but suddenly they were broken off, and the strains of the young Sultan's favourite march were heard. This march had been composed by the brother of Donizetti, who has been appointed band-master here'. Trans. HW Duleken, in *The complete illustrated stories of Hans Christian Andersen*, 'Mahomet's Birthday – A scene in Constantinople' (Chancellor Press, 1889), p. 835.

25. In a letter to Dolci dated 18 February 1841, Gaetano wrote: 'I received from the great Sultan, in return for an Imperial march I composed, the Order of Thourat [Nişan-ı İftihar] like my brother. Napoleon

belongs to two centuries, I to two religions' (Ashbrook, p.252; Zavadini, letter no.356).

26. Rossini composed a *Marcia militare* for Sultan Abdulmecid in 1852, for which he received the Ottoman Order of Nişan-ı İftihar. *The Musical World* reported the new composition in the following fashion: 'It is said that Rossini was never in better health than he is at present. The following circumstance connected with the great maestro is reported as having recently occurred in Florence. For the last two years, the Sultan, who is exceedingly fond of music, has on several occasions offered Rossini fabulous sums of money, besides all sorts of Turkish decorations and orders of merit, on condition that he would compose him some lyrical work or other. As Rossini never returned any answer, his Highness determined to send one of the attachés of the Embassy with strict orders not to leave him without having obtained something for the theatre at Constantinople. The attaché accordingly visited Rossini, who received him with his accustomed politeness, and begged him to wait a few seconds. The composer then went up stairs to his study. About an hour afterwards he came down again with a manuscript, hardly dry, in his hand. "Will you be kind enough to give that to the Sultan?" said he to the attaché. "What is the price?" asked the latter. "Nothing – I am only too happy that I am able to do anything that can please his Highness." Knowing the Sultan's taste for military music, Rossini had composed a new march' (*The Musical World* (31 July 1852), vol.30, no.31, p.485).

27. Entitled *Grande paraphrase de la marche de J. Donizetti* the work was published by Schlesinger of Berlin the following year, together with a simplified version. For further details on Liszt's stay in Constantinople, see Emre Aracı: 'Franz Liszt at the Ottoman court', in *International Piano Quarterly* (Winter 2001), pp.14–19.

28. See Suha Umur: 'Abdülmeçid, Opera ve Dolmabahçe Saray Tiyatrosu', in *Milli Saraylar Dergisi* (1987/1), pp.43–59.

29. Giuseppe Donizetti was also among the audience that evening. 'The opening of the new theatre was a brilliant success. The prima donna Vilmot Medori and the baritone Bencich delighted the public of Pera', he wrote to Antonio Dolci; Constantinople, 7 December

1848; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, LA vol.30 no.49.

30. Lengthy reviews of all these performances appeared in the *Journal de Constantinople*.

31. Entitled *Inno Popolare di Sua Maestà Imperiale*, the manuscript copy of this hymn in Giuseppe's autograph is at the Museo Donizettiano in Bergamo (catalogue no.I-BGm VII 1° B).

32. *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* (7 December 1851), vol.18 no.49, p.400.

33. In 1831 Giuseppe was awarded the Order of Nişan-ı İftihar. A colour drawing and a description of the 'Order of Thurat' bestowed upon Giuseppe Donizetti by Sultan Mahmud II is in the Biblioteca Civica 'Angelo Mai', Bergamo (Specola Doc.936). He was made a cavalier of the Order of Mecidiye in 1854, and a Commendatore of the same order in 1856.

34. Angela Tondi was a native of the Island of Elba. She and Giuseppe Donizetti married at Portoferraio on 12 February 1815. She is also buried at St Esprit Cathedral in Istanbul.

35. Andrea Donizetti was born on 29 April 1818 in Alessandria, Piedmont. He married one Giuseppina Gabuzzi of Milan in 1858. He died on 11 February 1867 in an insane asylum at Aversa, near Naples.

36. Born 25 March 1859.

37. Born 28 February 1861.

38. See Giuseppe Donizetti [grandson], ed.: *Ricordi di Gaetano Donizetti*, pp.53–59.

39. The catalogue of this collection was prepared by Mr Suha Umur and was subsequently printed in Turkish in the collected palace archive catalogue, 'Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivinde Donizetti ailesine ait evrak', in *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi Katoloğu*, pp.184–94. For an abridged English translation, see Emre Aracı: 'Giuseppe Donizetti Pasha and the family archive in Istanbul', in *Donizetti Society Newsletter*, no.83 (June 2001), appendix.

40. See Emre Aracı: 'Reforming zeal', in *The Musical Times* (September 1997), pp.12–15.